

MEMORANDUM FOR: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

This is the outline for Part III, Section A of
NSSD 1-82. [REDACTED] of SOVA is working on it and
may have a draft completed by tomorrow afternoon.
I suggest that we get together late tomorrow to dis-
cuss this.

Harry Rowen
C/NIC

Attachment

Date 4 March 82

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Terms of Reference

I. Soviet Perceptions of the Changing Nature of US-Soviet Rivalry

A. Soviet views of current trends in US-Soviet relations

1. The relative growth of Soviet power, and Moscow's concept of the changing correlation of forces.
2. Moscow's assessment of the US will to compete and Soviet assertiveness in the Third World.
3. Perceptions of increasing US "hostility" and "unpredictability"
4. The deterioration of the strategic arms dialogue
5. The pursuit of "differentiated detente" especially focussed on Europe
6. Soviet economic stringencies as a key factor

B. Contingent factors affecting US-Soviet interaction as viewed from Moscow

1. US-West European relations
2. Instability at the periphery: E. Europe (Poland), Afghanistan, and Moscow's sense of vulnerability

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3. Sino-Soviet hostility and fears of US-Chinese alliance
4. Opportunities and risks of involvement in the Third World

II. The Nature of the Soviet Challenge

A. The Soviet military buildup

1. Trends in Soviet military forces: strategic, theater nuclear, and conventional
 - a. Resource commitments and requirements opposite NATO and China; security contingencies and attempts at military intimidation
 - b. Military presence abroad; pattern of increased involvement; increases in power projection capacity
2. The role of arms control and the relationship between force development policy and arms control negotiations
3. Military-economic considerations
 - a. Implication of economic problems for sustaining level of military spending

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- b. Role of East-West trade and technology transfer in sustaining and promoting Soviet military programs

B. Military aid and advisors

- 1. Arms Sales: trends and magnitude of commitments

- a. Soviet assessment of the utility of arms sales as a political and military instrument

C. Support for insurgencies, terrorism

- 1. The extent and focus of Soviet involvement
- 2. Soviet views on the national liberations movements in the context of the East-West struggle

D. Surrogates and proxies

- 1. Soviet support and encouragement

E. Active measures

- 1. Covert action, propaganda, and clandestine activities; relationship to overt policy measures

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III. Regional Policies

A. Europe

1. Military trends: conventional force modernization; the saliency of the theater nuclear question
2. Arms control and diplomacy
 - a. The goals and objectives of Soviet detente policy in Europe; attempts to exploit US-West European differences
 - b. NATO's INF decision and its implications for Soviet policy
 - c. Ramifications of Poland and Afghanistan for Soviet policy in Western Europe
3. "Active Measures" in support of Moscow's European policies
4. The reliability of Warsaw Pact forces
5. Military contingencies that might arise

B. Northeast Asia

1. Perceived importance of China; large force commitments

2. Perception of US policies; substance of expressions of concern over "Washington-Beijing-Tokyo axis"
 3. Soviet attempts to deter Japanese defense efforts
 - a. Military intimidation and Soviet military activities
 - b. Covert involvement in Japanese anti-nuclear and "peace" movements
 - c. Offers of dialogue on military confidence-building measures
 - d. The Northern Territories: obstacle to improved relations
 4. The Korean Peninsula; military contingencies
- C. Southeast Asia: Building on previous investment and containing China
- D. South and Southwest Asia
1. Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India
 - a. The implications of Moscow's decision to intervene in terms of US-Soviet relations
 - b. The costs of continued military involvement in Afghanistan; the advantages of Moscow's military salient there

c. Policy toward Pakistan and India: pressuring Islamabad

d. Impact on US-Soviet regional interaction and potential confrontation in the Persian Gulf region

2. Soviet interests in the Iran-Iraq conflict and Soviet involvement in Iran and threats to Iran

E. The Middle East

1. Deepening involvement in Yemen

2. Wooing the Arab moderates (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the Gulf states)

3. Moscow's Libyan involvement

a. Arms sales and equipment stores

b. Direct and indirect support for Libyan actions

c. Trade-offs and risks of supporting Qadhafi

4. Possible involvements in Arab-Israeli conflicts; support for the PLO

5. New opportunities, e.g., Egypt?

F. Africa

1. Commitment in the Horn: enhancing Soviet strategic presence and exploiting post-colonial instabilities

2. Subsaharan Africa

- a. Posing as the patron power of black nationalist regimes and the liberation struggle

- b. The role of arms sales and proxies

G. Latin America, Central America, and the Caribbean

1. Broad Soviet objectives in Central America and Moscow's reading of the Reagan administration's policies

H. The Soviet View of War on Several Fronts

IV. The Nature of the Challenge in the 1980s

A. The Strategic Nuclear Dimension

1. The Soviets will continue to view the strategic nuclear balance as the critical barometer of relative power

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2. The Soviet view of nuclear war.

3. Apparent Soviet intention to sustain high levels of defense spending and vigorous strategic weapons programs; its costs to Moscow

4. Arms control and arms reductions options

B. Soviet-West European relations

1. Germany as the pivot of Soviet policy

2. Likely Soviet efforts to sustain and widen US-West European divergencies (outcome of INF issue will be key variable)

C. Enhanced options for force projection and military involvement in the Third World

1. Arms sales, surrogates and support for insurgencies

2. Moscow's enhanced conventional capabilities

a. Naval forces, airlift capacity, equipment inventories

V. Possible Non-Soviet conflicts which could affect American interests

- A. Arab-Israeli
- B. Other Near East/South Asia
- C. NE Asia and SE Asia
- D. Africa and Latin America
- E. Other?